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Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 EUR-12 H-01 INR-07
IO-13 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-04 PRS-01
SAJ-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 NSC-05 /090 W
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R 041705Z MAR 77
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2014
SECDEF WASHDC
INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS 0240
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA
AMEMBASSY ANKARA BY POUCH

S E C R E T MBFR VIENNA 0093

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, NATO
SUBJ: MBFR: DISCUSSION WITH LOTHAR RUEHL

1. ON MARCH 3, US REP AND DEPREP MET WITH PROMINENT FRG NEWSMAN LOTHAR RUEHL WHO SPECIALIZES ON DEFENSE ISSUES AND IS WRITING AN ADELPHI PAPER ON MBFR.

2. RUEHL INTERVIEWED SOVIET DEPREP SHUSTOV AT LENGTH ON MARCH 2. RUEHL REPORTED THAT SHUSTOV MADE THE FOLLOWING POINTS OF INTEREST:

A. IN DISCUSSING THE SOVIET APPROACH TO ARMAMENT REDUCTIONS
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AS REFLECTED IN THE EASTERN PROPOSAL OF FEBRUARY 19, 1976, SHUSTOV TOOK THE INITIATIVE TO STATE THAT THE SOVIETS UNDERSTOOD THAT WESTERN NEGOTIATORS WERE CONCERNED THAT A DISCUSSION OF NUCLEAR DELIVERY SYSTEMS WOULD OPEN UP A BROAD DISCUSSION OF THE INCLUSION IN REDUCTIONS OF NUCLEAR SYSTEMS GENERALLY AND THE AIR FORCES. HE SAID THAT, HOWEVER, THERE WAS NO RISK THAT A DISCUSSION OF NQD FLIVERY SYSTEMS WOULD OPEN UP SUCH A GENERAL

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DISCUSSION. RUEHL REPORTS THAT SHUSTOV MADE THIS POINTT
TWICE ON HIS OWN INITIATIVE.

B. SHUSTOV RAISED WITH RUEHL THE PROBLEM THAT THE US
WITHDRAWAL OF SELECTED NUCLEAR DELIVERY SYSTEMS MIGHT BE
CIRCUMVENTED BY INCREASES OF SIMILAR SYSTEMS IN THE FORCES OF
NON-US WESTERN PARTICIPANTS. SHUSTOV EXPRESSED THE VIEW, HOW-
EVER, THAT SINCE QUALITATIVE IMPROVEMENTS WOULD NOT BE
RESTRICTED BY AN AGREEMENT, THE POSSIBILITY EXISTED TO MEET
THIS PROBLEM WITHOUT DISCRIMINATING AGAINST NON-US WESTERN
PARTICIPANTS. HE SAID THAT HE THOUGHT THAT A FAIR NON-CIRCUMVENTION
CLAUSE COULD BE DRAWN TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEM. HE ADDED
THAT SOME MEANS OF NUCLEAR DELIVERY WERE NOT OF RELEVANCE AND
THAT A NON-CIRCUMVENTION CLAUSE WOULD HAVE MERIT AND WOULD
CONTRIBUTE TO BRINGING THE NEGOTIATIONS INTO DESIRABLE CHANNELS.

C. SHUSTOV SAID THAT THE SOVIETS HAD THOUGHT EARLIER THAT
SMALL TOKEN REDUCTIONS MIGHT BE EASIER TO NEGOTIATE, BUT HE
NOW FELT THEY WOULD NOT BE OF REAL CONSEQUENCE.

3. COMMENT: SHUSTOV'S REMARKS THAT THE SOVIETS HAD DROPPED AN
ORIGINAL PREFERENCE FOR SYMBOLIC REDUCTIONS CORRESPONDS TO OUR
EVALUATION OF THE EASTERN FEBRUARY 19, 1976 PROPOSAL WHICH
FOLLOWED THE WESTERN NUCLEAR WITHDRAWAL PROPOSAL OF DECEMBER
1975. BY TAKING THE ENTIRE WARSAW PACT FORCE AS A BASE AND
SUBSEQUENTLY TABLING DATA ON THAT TOTAL FORCE, HOWEVER QUESTION-
ABLE THAT DATA MIGHT BE, THE EAST ACCEPTED AN IMPLIED
OBLIGATION TO REDUCE AT LEAST 15 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL FIGURE
IT TABLED INCLUDING APPROXIMATELY HALF OF THIS AMOUNT IN
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SOVIETS AND BY MAKING A SPECIFIC ALTHOUGH UNACCEPTABLE
COUNTEROFFER ON REDUCTION OF SOVIET NUCLEARS, THE EAST INDICATED
A DESIRE TO ENSURE THAT THE WEST'S REDUCTIONS WOULD INCLUDE
AT LEAST THOSE US NUCLEAR ARMAMENTS WHOSE WITHDRAWAL THE WEST
HAD PROPOSED IN DECEMBER 1975, THUS ONCE AGAIN IMPLICITLY
ACCEPTING THAT AGREED REDUCTIONS WOULD HAVE TO BE SUBSTANTIAL.

4. THERE IS AN IMPLICATION IN SHUSTOV'S OTHER REMARKS:

A. THAT THE EAST MIGHT BE WILLING TO MOVE TOWARD THE
SELECTIVE TREATMENT OF ARMAMENTS AS THE WEST HAS PROPOSED.

B. THAT THE SOVIETS MIGHT CONSIDER DROPPING THE REQUIREMENT
THAT NON-US WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS REDUCE THEIR ARMAMENTS;
AND

C. THAT THE EAST MIGHT SETTLE FOR EITHER A PROVISION PREVENTING
THE CIRCUMVENTION OF THE US REDUCTION OF SELECTED NUCLEAR
ARMAMENTS OR A COLLECTIVE CEILING ON SUCH ARMAMENTS.

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5. IN THE CONTEXT OF POINT (A) IN THE PRECEDING PARAGRAPH,
WE WOULD CALL TO MIND THAT IN HIS PRESS CONFERENCE OF
DECEMBER 16, 1976 (REPORTED IN MBFR VIENNA 0642, DTG 171738Z
DEC 76) GDR REP TOOK THE INITIATIVE TO STATE: QUOTE THEREBY,
WE PLACE A HIGH VALUE IN A COMPREHENSIVE MANNER TO SECURE
REDUCTIONS OF EQUAL VALUE. BUT THIS DOES NOT MEAN, AS IT IS
SAID SOMETIMES IN WESTERN TERMS, THAT ACROSS-THE-BOARD
REDUCTIONS WILL BE ASKED. WE ARE PREPARED TO DEAL WITH
SELECTED QUESTIONS, BUT NOT ARBITRARILY. WE ARE FOR HAVING LAND
AND AIR FORCES INCLUDED -- IT IS HERE THAT THE IMPORTANT
COMPONENTS OF NUCLEAR POWER ARE. ONE CANNOT EXCLUDE AIR FORCES
AND THEREBY, IN THIS IMPORTANT COMPONENT, LEAVE OPEN THE
POSSIBILITY FOR EXPANSION AND PLANNING. BUT THIS CONCEPT DOES
NOT MEAN THAT ONE SHOULD TAKE UP EVERYTHING AT ONCE. RATHER,
ONE SHOULD MAKE A WELL-BALANCED CONSIDERATION THAT ALL
FACTORS ARE INCLUDED AND EQUALLY REDUCED UNQUOTE. END COMMENT.RESOR
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: NUCLEAR WEAPONS, NEGOTIATIONS, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 04-Mar-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
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Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
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From: MBFR VIENNA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
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Secure: OPEN
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Subject: MBFR: DISCUSSION WITH LOTHAR RUEHL
TAGS: PARM, MBFR
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Type: TE
vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/12bfadbd-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
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